1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

The warm feelings that link the natal coresidents of a household contrast sharply with the group's attitude toward outsiders. Commonly, latent hostility is expressed particularly toward the father's sister's husband, *kachá*, whose marriage deprives the natal unit of a member. *Kachá* is sometimes described as a potential traitor. As far as my data go, similar attitudes are not voiced toward other men who marry women of one's household.

Although the dictates of exogamy force the Araucanians to marry outside the natal household, they do not like to establish a wide range of affinal relationships. They tend to be fearful of strangers and to suspect them of being witches, so much so that boys used to be taught not to marry outsiders. When viewed in this light the customs of cross-cousin marriage and unilocal, patrilocal residence take on added significance. Under optimum conditions these practices require only two households for entrance into a series of marriage alliances. Thus, if a man brings home a wife from a certain outside household, his son secures a mate from the same group, since a woman and her brother's daughter belong to the same natal unit. In fact the term *fuchi* (which applies to mother, mother's sister, and wife) may be said to connote woman of an affinal household. Nor should it be overlooked that sororate, sororal polygyny, and levirate all tend to maintain or strengthen marital ties that have already been established by two intermarrying groups.[14]

Latcham reached the conclusion that a rite called *konchotun* implied a system of matrimonial alliances between two families.[15] Others say only that *konchotun*, the central act of which called for the sacrifice and consumption of a sheep, was no more

[14] Although the analysis here proposed is based on information independently secured, it should be noted that Cooper (1946, p. 719) suggested a similar interpretation. He quoted statements to the effect that one native rationalized cross-cousin marriage on the basis that it prevented discord, and that an earlier writer stated that sororal polygyny was common " 'to avoid quarrels and jealousy.' "

[15] Latcham, 1924, p. 531.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

pasturing them and for raising produce to feed his family well. The average family has 30 to 40 sheep and enough land to raise food so the family is well fed all the year around." In Alepúe area, one of the wealthiest families owned 120 acres of land, some of which was still forested. The father had selected the forested land and knew his family would be given title to it as soon as he had cleared it of trees.

Every person has the right to own land in the area in which his father lived; in that area, too, he has the right to claim wooded land if he proceeds to clear it of trees—an indication that he intends to cultivate it. A man who moves to another area has difficulty in acquiring land there. If he can get no land, he has no pasture and therefore can own no cattle or sheep. Such a man's family obviously, then, is poor; it has no status in the area—in fact it is only tolerated there. Neighbors will give food to the family whenever it is rumored that it is nearly destitute, but it is always hoped by those who help that the man will take his family to the area where his relatives live. One such family lived in Alepúe area and one in Coñaripe area. The Alepúe family lived in the neighborhood of distant relatives, who, in order to relieve themselves of feeding the family, gave it land for a garden and several cows and sheep. The animals were grazed in someone else's pasture. The father was able to buy wheat and an occasional piece of clothing by selling in non-Araucanian villages fish that he caught in the Pacific. When unfavorable weather prevented him from fishing, kind persons in the area gave the family assistance. The father of the Coñaripe family worked for cash anywhere in the area where he could find work; his wife supplemented his earnings by selling basketry she wove.

A family exhibited status, if all male members, including small boys, wore hats, and if any or all members wore shoes. Hats and shoes indicated to others that the family had means just beyond those needed for the necessities of life.

Families definitely not held in esteem were those in which one parent was non-Araucanian, in which there was continuous quarreling, and in which a member was a thief.

HUSBAND–WIFE RELATIONSHIP, PARENT–CHILD RELATIONSHIP, BROTHER–SISTER RELATIONSHIP

My observations have led me to believe that sincere affection, confidence, and helpfulness are reciprocated by husband and wife. However, the man dominates the family. His decisions are made as the

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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look on, those who participate in all but the sacrifices, and those who participate in the complete ceremony."

Non-Araucanians are not welcome at the ceremonial, "because, so the old people say, they are of other religions; God is jealous and does not want other people there. I believe the real reason is that it is known that those who do not understand the ceremonial have made fun of it."

Although features of the sacrificial ceremonial itself may differ from area to area, or may even be entirely absent in an area, in general they consist of the following:

The leader, whether he be a cacique or a prophet, is the master of ceremonies. He is assisted by the captains and sergeants of all participating localities. All are men. However, informants made it a point to tell of one exception—the leader of Pucura (Cofiaripe area) was a very old woman who had been a prophetess since she was young, and had never been replaced. Because of her age she was assisted by a machi, also from Pucura. "But the machi only does what the old woman tells her to do; the old woman gives all the orders."

The captains and sergeants prepare the grounds for the ceremonial (figs. 2 and 3). In the center of the Cofiaripe grounds (fig. 2), four colihüe are placed in the ground; in Alepúe, one maqui tree. This place is called porufe (referring to the dances). The leader will sit near here. Between him and the colihüe, the tortillas brought by the families are arranged in a row of piles. "At our last ñillatun the piles were so high [1½ feet]." Behind the tortillas a row of containers, each filled with mudai, is placed. "The containers are carved out of wood and are shaped like the chalice used at Mass. We had one at home, but I cannot find it; I wanted to show it to you." On the opposite side of the colihüe are dishes containing wheat.

On the periphery of the grounds, two pairs of posts are set into the ground to be used by two men on horseback, each with a trutruka (see pl. 32, *1*). "Each man with a trutruka needs two posts: a crotched one in which he rests his trutruka and another to which he ties the horse on which he sits while he holds the trutruka. These two men remain in this position all through the ceremonial; they are like guards of the place. Pucura had one trutruka in December, and Llancahue had the other."

A pole, generally a sapling, is planted in a place somewhat apart from the porufe. Here the machi will sit, each with his or her kultrun (pl. 30, *1*), "sometimes there are as many as four machi." Formerly each machi had a pole. During the ceremonial each machi beats his or her kultrun, and together they sing (informant sang in Aranca-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

of many gifts of food from her kinsmen and their families. If she was past the age of childbearing her position would be rather serene, since she would be on her natal reservation among her blood kin and many old friends and relatives and their offspring, who would care for her while she lived and bury her as a member of the residential kingroup when she died. If industrious, she might well manage to earn cash by selling blankets, ponchos, rugs, or other things she manufactured or raised. Her biggest problem would be to see that her land was prepared and sown and that her harvests were reaped in time. Her income from farming would tend to be small, since she would not have received many hectares of the best land. She might have no cattle, sheep, or barnyard animals.

UXORILOCAL RESIDENCE[4]

Historically, there seem to have been sporadic instances of uxorilocal residence, which apparently have given rise to the notion held by Latcham that Mapuche society once had a matrilineal base. I find no evidence in Latcham or other writers to bear out this surmise, however. Occurrences of uxorilocal residence in the past are explicable in much the same terms as such instances today—in general, the male is landless, but the reasons for this vary.

In prereservation times, when Mapuche society was characterized by much greater mobility, offshoots of larger residence groups migrated considerable distances in looking either for safety from Chilean troops and marauding bands of Mapuche or for better land. Mobility provided a safety valve for factionalism within the larger residential group.

In each of the five different localities studied by the writer, there is evidence that during the present and the previous generation men had moved to their wives' reservations to live. Instances of similar moves are found in historical accounts beginning with those of Pedro de Valdivia, around the middle of the sixteenth century.

To a great extent the completion of reservation mapping and registration after 1918 brought about a cessation of this mobility. Reservation land was limited and clearly defined, and it was difficult for emigrants, who for the most part were distrusted as strangers, often as sorcerers, to secure holdings of their own elsewhere. It cannot be

[4] Uxorilocal is a more precise term than matrilocal and implies in Mapuche society a temporary departure from a patrilocal rule rather than a permanent subsidiary relationship with reference to the distaff side of a family.

[i.e., a woman who re-established residence in her natal group— ANALYST]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

emphasized too strongly that in a patrilineal, patrilocal society uxorilocal residence is not generally sought after by males. Under certain conditions, however, such an arrangement might be the best solution open to a man who wishes to retain his cultural identity.

In several cases that came to my attention it was said that these in-married men were forced to move from their natal reservations because of "trouble." The difficulties in which they had become involved included the allegations of having practiced sorcery, murder, theft, and adultery, besides a number of other antisocial actions of lesser importance which were committed too often for the group to put up with. Some of these charges seem to result wholly from a distrust of newcomers and outsiders in general. Long and peaceful coresidence usually suffices to integrate an in-married male into most of the economic and some ceremonial activities of the reservation, but he has no standing in the patrilineage. This aspect of his relationship can never be bridged. There is no adoption of adults and ceremonial bonds established by *misha* (two people eating from the same plate) and *trafkin* (an exchange of gifts between two persons) are not designed to incorporate one man into the lineage of another. Furthermore, a man's marriage to a female of the resident patrilineage symbolizes his position as external to the exogamous group.

The position of an in-married man at a community meeting where views are aired in preparation to taking political or ceremonial action is that of an outsider. His opinions generally do not count as much as those of his wife. He might even fail to attend such gatherings, and if he offers suggestions he does so with utmost respect and caution, possibly through the offices of his wife or brother-in-law.

In other matters, for example considerations related to agriculture or stock raising or some specialty such as building or the manufacture of equipment, he may well be consulted by other men and take a leading part in these activities. But this depends on his personal qualities and abilities, not on his standing in the lineage group.

By way of exemplification I cite a situation which bears on uxorilocal residence and yet has a special quality which serves to point up broader aspects of social structure such as the nature of a chief's authority in regard to land rights, residential kingroup solidarity, and the importance of patrilineages in present-day Mapuche society.

A man called Carlos Curiqueo, whose father's and grandfather's groups had both been registered (as a remnant or displaced family) on the reservation on which Carlos was born, was refused access to

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

land there after returning from an absence of almost thirty years. After Carlos' father died, the boy had been taken by his mother to her natal group on a distant reservation. When Carlos was a little more than thirty years old he returned to his father's reservation and claimed land as part of his inheritance. The best land on the reservation was then under production, but there were then still more than 100 hectares of swampy, wooded land, most of which is still used only for common pasture, from which some arable piece could have been salvaged either by clearing or draining. Certainly Carlos was willing to obtain land in this way. Nevertheless, the chief to whom the petition was made refused Carlos' request after making formal inquiry of all the household heads on the reservation.

The grounds for refusal were that Carlos' claim to land was invalid since he had migrated and remained away for so long a time and since he had no *familia* on the reservation (all his grandfather's descendants having died or moved away); that all the good land was in use; that the "people" did not want him. The chief did not elaborate on the people's motives, but delivered the decision as a dictum. Actually, the family heads were suspicious of Carlos for having left his mother's group, among whom he had been raised. He was suspected of having committed some crime there, and consequently was considered undesirable. Carlos claims he left his mother's reservation because he had too many brothers to share too little land. Furthermore, his position on his mother's natal reservation was not secure because he was not a member of the lineage, only a member of the residential kingroup *por madre* (figured through his mother).

Although he had no consanguineal ties with any females of his natal reservation and could theoretically have married in, this did not come to pass. Carlos maintains that the people were hostile to him and resented his presence, although the chief allowed him to live for more than a month in his house until he could arrange to go elsewhere. Carlos remained in the vicinity for several years, obtaining lodgings with a succession of families on other reservations and working as a farm hand for Chileans and as a laborer on the new railroad spur which was under construction. Eventually he married a woman on a nearby reservation, where he was living at the time I knew him.

It seems clear that Carlos was felt to have no lineage-based rights to support his "legal" claim to land as an heir of a *radicado*. If he had had living relatives on the reservation who could have vouched for him, the chief's decision would likely have been otherwise. In order

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

constitute incest. Marriage negotiations simply could not occur under such circumstances. Marriage, therefore, is not only regulated by lineal considerations of propriety but by lateral restrictions and preferences, the traditional expression of which (*admapu*) is matrilateriality.

The Mapuche rationale for the perpetuation of the matrilateral system is phrased partly in terms of sorcery. A man does not fear that his mother's closest kinsmen will practice witchcraft against him, at least not homicidal sorcery. All Mapuche distrust outsiders—nonrelatives who are not of the locality—as potential sorcerers. To break the matrilateral pattern, as is sometimes done, and marry into an unrelated and unknown group is to court danger. There is resistance on both sides, as well, since neither the kinsmen of the young man nor those of his intended bride approve of this kind of departure from the norm. A man, consequently, finds that the surest and easiest road to marriage lies over the bridge established by his mother or other in-married kinswomen to a traditionally-linked wife-giving lineage.

A man is in a number of ways beholden to the group which regularly supplies his lineage with wives. He must, for example, pay brideprice (*mafun:* to pay for a woman) in order to obtain his wife and to establish lineal rights over her and the children she produces. In this he complies with the demands of the wife-giving (wife-providing[2]) group, and is willing to do so because of the ease of obtaining a wife from them and the security involved in marrying a woman from a known group of cognatic kinsmen. The relative superiority of the wife-giving group is made clear in several ways, involving payments, during the period of marriage negotiations and nuptials, as well as on other occasions before and after marriage.

There is lifelong recognition of the relative social superiority and inferiority, respectively, of the group which provides wives

[2] When talking to the groom's agnates the term *mafun* is used; when discussing brideprice with the bride's agnates, the term *waltakun* is generally used. This usage reflects the relative position of the two categories, *waltakun* signifying "the provision or sale of a young woman." The customary designations wife "giver" and "receiver" do not fully express this relationship.

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians SG4

A 439 609 Quintuhual had with him a Valdivian or Chilote named Juan Antonio, who acted as interpreter. This little man, who had originally come from what he called his 'Pago,' somewhere in the vicinity of Porto Montt, bringing liquor to trade with the Indians, had concluded to remain with them, esteeming himself to be better off as a poor man in the Pampas in company with Indians, than in the like station in the settlements. He of course spoke the Araucanian language, which is generally used in Valdivia, but was conversant with the Spanish tongue. Off his horse he was a miserable little specimen of a man, and though tolerated by Quintuhual, was looked upon as what Spaniards term 'Infeliz,' or unfortunate one.

T A 648 After a while the council broke up, but Crimè arriving with the ten expected toldos, was resumed the following day; Quintuhual finally agreeing to unite his party with the Tehuelches, and proceed under Casimiro's banner to Las Manzanas.

A 361 224 The Chilote Juan Antonio paid us a visit in the evening, and informed us that the toldos had been several months in this place, which was named Esgel-kaik; the men having been absent hunting, first the young guanaco, and afterwards catching and taming cattle in the Cordillera.

A 224 By his account these Indians were great adepts with the lazo, and would gallop through the forests in chase of animals in the most wonderful manner; one man only being required to catch and secure an animal, and then proceeding to capture another. How different from our dreadful failure, where seven men could not lazo one animal!

He further stated that with Foyel's Indians, who were distant a few marches to the north, eight Valdivians had for the last two years been employed catching cattle, and having now succeeded in getting together a herd of about eighty

A 411 head, intended shortly to return to Valdivia.

The third day after our arrival I visited the toldos of our new allies; and while talking to one of the principal Indians, named Malakou, who could speak a little Spanish, was asked

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4

823 had been long in the family. They object strongly, however, to any strangers picking up stones as specimens, or appearing to 'prospect' in any way, which, being forewarned by Ventura Delgado, I was especially careful to
525 avoid. Mons. Guinnard has given a description of some of their games, differing from those in vogue among the Tehuelches, as for instance gambling with black and white
583 beans. Casimiro is my authority for stating that this people preserve the singular custom of abduction in marriage. The intending bridegroom does not trouble himself to obtain the consent of the bride, but having paid the fixed dowry or price to her parents, he gallops up, and forcibly seizing the girl carries her off before him to the bush, whence, after an enforced honeymoon of two days, they return as man and
[623] wife to his dwelling. This, however, is not the practice in
595 the case of the marriage of a cacique's daughters. Polygamy is allowable; thus the great Cheoeque possessed three wives, the chief favourite, whose amiable good-humour deserved the honour, occupying the central place in the toldo; but all three lived in perfect harmony and took care of each other's children with impartial affection.

567 These Araucanos are, as I have said, apt to kidnap or buy
162 captives, and I am inclined to suspect that there is a scarcity
609 of women amongst them, of which the exterminating cruelties practised towards women and children by the frontier 'Cristianos' is a probable cause. They are certainly more dangerous to strangers than the Southern Indians, and it is unsafe to venture amongst them without proper safe conducts from the cacique.

574 To myself Cheoeque offered permission to travel directly north through the interior of the country as far as the Argentine Provinces, guaranteeing my safety; and the temptation was only resisted by reflecting on the necessity of keeping faith with my Tehuelche friends by proceeding to Patagones. He also gave me a cordial invitation to return, and an assurance that I should be always welcomed